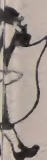


August 18, 1949  
379th BROADCAST

# Illinois Library Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast by Stations of the American Broadcasting Co.



Pat. Off.

## What Should Be Turkey's Role between the East and the West?

GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr., Moderator

### Speakers

HAZIM ATIF KUYUCAK

RUSSELL H. DORR

AHMET EMIN YALMAN

FLOYD H. BLACK

(See also page 12)

### COMING

August 23, 1949

Should Immigration to Israel Be Restricted?

August 30, 1949

Does the Arab World Need a Marshall Plan?

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## THE BROADCAST OF AUGUST 23:

### "Should Immigration to Israel Be Restricted?"



## THE BROADCAST OF AUGUST 30:

### "Does the Arab World Need a Marshall Plan?"



The Broadcast of August 16, 1949, over the American Broadcasting Company Network from 8:30 to 9:30 p.m., EDT, was a rebroadcast of the program which originated in the College of Letters Auditorium, Ankara, Turkey, on July 25.



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# Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



AUGUST 16, 1949

VOL. 15, No. 16

## What Should Be Turkey's Role Between the East and the West?

### Albert:

This is Alfred A. Albert, representing the American Civil Liberties Union and the International League for the Rights of Man, speaking to you from Ankara, Turkey, on "America's Town Meeting of the Air."

We were most surprised by the coolness of the weather here in Istanbul where we stopped en route. As ancient as is Istanbul, Ankara is more modern in its construction of houses and buildings than any city that I have seen at home.

The people here are engaged in the midst of a terrific struggle with economic problems. Much of industry and some agriculture has been nationalized, not because of any basic belief in socialism but because it was the only way it could be done. No one regards this nationalization as permanent but, rather, as a temporary measure. It is not a question of restoring a stable economy but a question of creating in this land, rich with natural resources, an almost self-sufficient nation.

Now, to preside over our discussion, here is your moderator, the President of Town Hall, New York, and founder of America's Town Meeting of the Air, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (Applause)

### Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Tonight I hope we shall be able to give you something of the real flavor of the generous, hospitable, and industrious people of Anatolia, known today as modern Turkey. We've met them; we like them; and we have much in common. Gone are the traditional fez and turban; gone are the romanti-



cized harems and sultans. Although the stately minarets and mosques abound in Istanbul and other Turkish cities, there is complete freedom of religion and worship.

As we flew over the country from Istanbul to Ankara, the new capital of modern Turkey, we were reminded of the flight from San Francisco to Los Angeles, for this country has much in common with America's great Southwest. And these modern Turkish people are as proud of their country and as friendly as our traditional Westerner.

We are the guests tonight of the UNESCO National Commission of Turkey, headed by the Honorable Tahsin Banguoglu, Turkey's Minister of Education. We cannot discuss tonight's question, "What Should Be Turkey's Role Between the East and the West?" without learning more about Turkey than most of us in the United States now know. So we have asked our speakers to give us as much information as possible in their opening presentations and to save the controversy for the question period. I'll lift the curtain to this extent, however, and give you two important facts:

1. Turkey has universal military training and spends more than 40 per cent of its total annual budget for military purposes.

2. The Communist party is outlawed in Turkey and communism has no appreciable support in this country.

Our first speaker could fill the whole hour with fascinating stories about this great country in which he has lived for nearly twenty years. Dr. Floyd Black of Bridgeport, Illinois, came to Turkey first in 1911 as an instructor at Robert College where he remained until 1926 when he became president of the American College in Sofia, Bulgaria. He was called to the presidency of Robert College and the American College for Girls in Istanbul in 1944 where he remains as one of the most highly respected American citizens in this country. I take pleasure in presenting Dr. Floyd H. Black. (*Applause*)

### **Dr. Black:**

When you look at a map of Turkey, set in a map of the Middle East and the great area surrounding it, you see at once the wonderful geographical situation which this country enjoys. The Turkish Republic unites the East with the West, the West with the East.

Turkey is as large as Texas, plus nearly half of Oklahoma. It is rich in resources—agricultural, mineral, human. Many years ago an eminent Turkish woman writer published a book entitled *Turkey Faces West*. This observation is true. But Turkey also

faces East. She faces West in coöperation. She faces East in determination to maintain her own way of life.

The Turkish Republic is a democracy, much like other western democracies. Besides having a democratic form of government, the Turkish people are democratic in social forms. Since the most ancient times, Anatolia, the Turkish homeland, has been a center of civilization. Homer, Aesop, and Nasir-ud-din Hojad, the Turkish storyteller, lived in Anatolia.

In the second millenium B.C., Hittite life and activity flourished there. In succeeding ages, rich civilizations came and went, each being absorbed by its successor. In all parts of Anatolia, the remains of these successive civilizations are found—great cities, theaters, public buildings, water systems, roads—which indicate the high standards of life maintained for many generations.

In ancient times, ideas flowed west from Anatolia. Today, ideas are flowing east through Anatolia.

As all the world knows, Atatürk was the founder of the Turkish Republic. Under his leadership, 26 years ago, peace and political stability were established. The monument of this enduring peace is the Treaty of Lausanne, negotiated in 1923, by the skill of İsmet İnönü, now the distinguished President of the Turkish Republic. Firmly based on the policy of peace then established, the Turkish Republic stands strong and orderly. In the whole area extending from the Suez Canal to the Danube River, Turkey is the most powerful nation confident of its ability to maintain and develop its own national life.

Schools are a symbol of present-day progress in Turkey. Everywhere in cities, towns, villages, one sees new school buildings—primary schools for all children; village institutes for the special training of boys and girls from farm families; occupational schools for both sexes; high schools to prepare boys and girls to enter universities in Ankara and Istanbul.

Annually, five or six hundred Turkish students pursue professional and special studies in American universities. The American colleges in Istanbul and American schools in other centers present American education. English is widely studied and spoken. In all Turkish schools, languages, literature, and science are studied and taught just as they are in schools farther west. Wherever one travels in Turkey, one sees modernization of agricultural methods, the development of industry, the rapid extension of transportation facilities, the construction of new houses and public buildings.

In short, the Republic of Turkey, like other countries, is striving to make transition from the prewar epoch with its way of life,



traditions, and economic conditions, to the postwar epoch of today. In doing this, Turkey depends primarily upon the industry, intelligence, and good sense of her people; on her armed forces, well trained and loyal, which defend her frontiers; on the wise direction of her foreign and internal policies, planned to maintain peaceful, good-neighbor relations with all countries.

Turkey claims no territory from any other nation. All responsible citizens think Turkey is big enough. Every effort is directed toward internal economic development.

Thus the Turkish Republic unites East and West. It continues to play the historic role of this ancient land, always important in the development of western civilization. Turkey is the strongest defender of this civilization in the Middle East. (*Applause*)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Dr. Black. Our next speaker, Russell H. Dorr, United States Minister and Chief of the ECA Mission to Turkey. He is a native New Yorker who was practicing law in the Big City when the war broke out. He joined up with the OSS and later with the Navy. His service took him to England, North Africa, Corsica, and Rumania. Later he went on a special mission to Japan, then to Brussels as Minister Delegate to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency. He assumed his present post here in Turkey last year. Mr. Russell Dorr. (*Applause*)

### **Mr. Dorr:**

As Dr. Black has told you, in the last 25 years, under the inspiring leadership of Kemal Atatürk and President İsmet İnönü, Turkey has set about building a new country in western mold. While Turkey, like Russia, lies partly in Europe and partly in Asia, she has, unlike Russia, turned to the West, and is seeking a better life for her people in adopting many of its ways.

You have just heard of some of the achievements of these years, particularly in education. In addition, the Turks have built railroads, power plants, steel mills, and textile factories.

Here in the heart of this country, they have—in the tradition of our own Washington—built this fine new capital where once there was but a small village.

They have adopted western dress and the Roman alphabet. More remarkable still, they have gone from a one-party to a two-party political system. They have stood four-square with the West in their readiness to defend their freedom against aggression.

Recent history establishes, then, that the fulfillment of Turkey

any national aspirations calls for a continuance of her dramatic forward movement by ever-closer partnership with the West. Turkey brings to this partnership assets which justify her cordial reception. Chief among these is her staunch determination to defend her freedom against direct aggression or subtle infiltration.

But the partnership of Turkey with the West has another, more lasting basis than cold war and common peril. In 1938, over two-thirds of Turkey's trade was with the western countries who are now joined together in the Marshall Plan. Including the United States, over 75 per cent of her trade was with the West; only 10 per cent was with Russia and the other countries now behind the iron curtain. Everything that has happened since 1938 confirms this pattern.

To develop her untapped mineral wealth and cultivate millions of acres of untilled land, Turkey seeks machinery and "know-how." She wishes to exchange her chrome and lead, her tobacco, hazelnuts, cereals, oil seeds, her wool and cotton for tractors, farm implements, machine tools, conveyors, ore and coal washing plants, dred-building and oil-drilling equipment, electrical generators, pumps, and a thousand other tools, and most precious of all, for the accumulated technical skills which a young country has not yet had time to learn.

Can Turkey sell coal, wheat, or cotton to the East when Russia is one of the world's greatest producers of these items? Can she acquire in Russia and eastern Europe the very techniques and equipment which they themselves so badly need?

The West can provide markets for Turkey's goods. The West can supply the machinery and skills which Turkey needs to build up to higher levels of productivity and to take advantage of her great resources.

Now, let's look at the other side of the medal. There we see the same design in reverse. The security of Turkey vitally concerns that of western Europe and the United States, and if Turkish resources can be tapped by economic coöperation between Turkey and the West, she can help supply many of Europe's needs.

Turkey will be enabled better to bear the present heavy defense burdens which, as Mr. Denny has said, have been absorbing nearly 50 per cent of her budget. Foreign aid expenses now borne by the American taxpayer because of the weakened condition of Europe will be substantially reduced if Europe's economy can be strengthened by the contribution which Turkey can make.

It is my view, then, that Turkey has every reason to play to the ever-greater degree the role she has already chosen as friend

and partner to the West, and the West has every reason to assist her in that role. (*Applause*)

### **Moderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Dorr. Hazim Atif Kuyucak [Ku-yu-jak] was one of Dr. Black's students at Robert College. He later went to Columbia University and the Geneva School for International Studies. Like Mr. Dorr, he graduated in law and has served in many important commissions, both governmental and nongovernmental. He is now teaching economics at Istanbul University. He has written more than a dozen books in the field of money, banking, and law, and is particularly well qualified to discuss tonight's subject. Mr. Hazim Atif Kuyucak. (*Applause*)

### **Mr. Kuyucak:**

In the past, and especially during the last quarter of a century, Turkey has been a strong factor of stability and security in the Near and Middle East. I agree with Dr. Black that in the future, also, Turkey's main role between the East and the West should be to continue as a factor of stability, because, to say the least, geographically Turkey is in a strategic position. It's a bridgehead leading to a wide political area with greatly divergent ideological viewpoints.

Furthermore, Turkey can and should help in the dissemination of western culture and modern ideas of world peace and security in the East.

Our American friends appear to have been convinced that peace and security cannot be guaranteed for the United States so long as there is unrest in some parts of the world. It was this conviction that inspired the Lend-Lease, and it is again this that is now behind all aid schemes.

It is because of this conviction, also, that the United States is helping Turkey in many ways. I do not, however, think that Turkey should sit back and expect every improvement from aid programs because due to their purpose and nature neither military aid nor the European Recovery Program will be sufficient to raise Turkey to such a level of economic development and military preparedness which would permit her to continue to prosper rapidly in the future and would enable her to resist any kind of aggression.

Military strength depends upon economic possibilities and I suggest that neither the Marshall Plan nor internal financing through etatism can by themselves assure the recovery necessary for these possibilities.

In fact, we have too long been dependent on the state to initiate



jects that might better have been financed by private capital. In order that we may have here in Turkey a healthy and continued economic recovery, the economic body must respond to injections of capital by the state or through foreign aid. This response can only be in the form of private initiative taking part in recovery.

We must also remember that Turkey provides sound investment opportunities but needs capital, technical ability, and world-wide commercial contacts. These can only be assured by wide participation of foreign capital in the economic rehabilitation of this country.

Turkey, however, from the point of view of possibilities of economic development, is an unknown country—not only for our American friends, but also for many Turkish businessmen. What is therefore needed at the outset is a general systematic and unbiased survey of Turkey's resources, manpower, and administration in the relation to economic development. Wide circulation should be given to the survey.

I am sure that foreign capital, mostly American, joining forces with Turkish private capital, can work wonders in this country, and this is the most opportune moment for Turkey to make foreign, especially American, capital interested in her development. No country should rely for its prosperity on foreign official aid which cannot be expected to continue indefinitely. On the other hand, international capital movements can help to create understanding, coöperation, and lasting peace only if they are based on mutual advantage. I am certain that investment of private American capital will, in the long run, constitute a stronger basis for coöperation and understanding between the two countries than an equal or even larger amount of government loan.

The interest of American citizens in the Marshall Plan is only indirect, but Americans who as private individuals have investments in companies financially interested in Turkey are bound to keep their eyes open on this country, and when the Marshall Plan ends, we shall have a great number of Americans who will be directly and personally interested in Turkey.

To sum up, I believe that Turkey's role between the East and West is very important for all the world, including the United States. But Turkey can accomplish this role better through a closer Turkish-American coöperation based mainly on private initiative and capital. (*Applause*)

**erator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Kuyucak. Mr. Ahmet Emin Yalman, editor of

*Vatan*, an independent liberal newspaper in Istanbul, is one of Turkey's leading citizens and is widely known in the United States where he is a frequent visitor and lecturer. After studying law for three years in Turkey, he went to Columbia University where he obtained both an M.A. and a Ph.D. degree. Mr. Yalman has had a strong hand and influence in the progress and rebuilding of the new Turkey. Mr. Yalman, may we have your views on tonight's question. (*Applause*)

### **Mr. Yalman:**

I am glad that I am in full agreement with Dr. Black, Mr. Doran and my friend, Mr. Kuyucak, who preceded me on this platform. I will just dwell on the role of Turkey as a peacemaker between the East and the West.

Recently, a most picturesque figure came over from New York to Turkey. It was his Holiness, Athenagoras, for long years Greek Orthodox leader in America. He was chosen to become the Patriarch of all the Turkish people with headquarters in Turkey. On his arrival he made a startling statement.

He said, "The conquest of Constantinople by Turks is a sign of a special will of God. The centuries elapsed since have been devoted merely to preparing the Turks for the role they are destined to play. It is the role of peacemakers between the East and the West."

This is not a prophecy. The march of events in the Middle East during the last thirty years actually follows a continued development in that direction.

It mainly began with the Lausanne Treaty in 1923—the only treaty freely negotiated and signed by consent after World War I. This separated Turkey from the camp of malcontents and made it a bridgehead of stability and security in the Balkans and in the Middle East.

Turkey today is inseparable from the West in its struggle to safeguard the values of western civilization against the undermining influences coming from the East.

The next step was this. All Turks realized, after a long period of war-making, that a desire to reconquer the lost empire would not be a paying business, so the frontiers of the Turkish homeland were strictly limited by the so-called national pact.

It became a guiding principle of the Turkish national policy to despise outside adventures and to devote all available energy to the purpose of internal development. This made Turkey a reliable neighbor. It became possible to conclude the Balkan Pact with Greece, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, and the Saadabad Pact

h Afghanistan, Iraq, and Persia. Both were of a nature to lead  
p by step to a federation. Unhappily World War II intervened.  
n the old days, government in Turkey was more or less under  
e shadow of religious authority. Turkey couldn't play its destined  
e between East and West unless it could get rid of all traces of  
urch autocracy in its political system. Happily, Turkey was  
le, after abolishing the rule of sultans and caliphs, to assign  
igion its proper place so that the public life could become the  
e domain of reason.

There was another handicap. We could not be relied upon to  
ay a role between East and West unless we could get rid for  
od of the single party rule. Happily, things have changed. We  
ve had multi-party development since 1945. As an opposition  
urnalist in Turkey who has spent a lifetime in struggling for  
mocracy, I must strongly disagree with John Gunther, who  
tes in his book, *Behind the Curtain*, that "the Turkish do not  
ve democracy."

We have perfect freedom of discussion in Turkey, tolerance of  
osition, political party organization extending to the most  
ant villages. With such weapons we are sure to obtain a free  
pression of the national will in the elections of 1950.

o Turkey in every respect is ready and fit to play a useful  
e between East and West. The role makes it necessary for  
key to act as a living example of stability and to remain  
etermined to change and improve.

a regional bloc including Israel is the first objective of the  
e at the present moment. This can certainly be accomplished  
America and Great Britain show proper understanding and  
ntly and loyally back up this project.

### **oderator Denny:**

Thank you, Mr. Yalman. Before we take the questions from this  
endly Turkish audience, we have a message for our listeners.

### **. Wilson:**

This is George Wilson, representing the American Farm Bureau  
d its million and a half farm families scattered throughout the  
ited States. I appreciate the great opportunity of visiting farms  
d farmers of the world. In each case I have seen modern equip-  
nt closely mingled with tools and practices of grandfathers  
d, in some cases, of long past centuries.

Turkish climate, topography, and natural resources are so  
ilar to California and Nevada that I feel right at home. Nineteen  
lion Turks—80 per cent of them farmers—have an infectious



# THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**RUSSELL H. DORR**—Mr. Dorr is the United States Minister and Chief of the ECA Mission to Turkey. A native New Yorker, he was practicing law in that city when the war broke out. Joining the OSS and, later, the Navy, his services took him to England, North Africa, Corsica, and Rumania. Later he went on a special mission to Japan and then to Brussels. He was appointed to his present post in Turkey last September.

**HAZIM ATIF KUYUCAK**—Mr. Kuyucak was a student of Dr. Black at Robert College. He later went to Columbia University and the Geneva School for International Studies. As a graduate lawyer, he has served on many important commissions, and is now on the law faculty of Istanbul University. Mr. Kuyucak has written more than a dozen books in the field of money, banking, and law.

**AHMET EMIN YALMAN**—Mr. Yalman, one of Turkey's leading citizens, is editor of *Vatan*, an independent liberal newspaper in Istanbul. After studying

law for three years in Turkey, he went to Columbia University where he obtained both his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Mr. Yalman is well-known in the United States as a frequent visitor and as a lecturer.

**FLOYD HENSON BLACK**—Dr. Black is a native of Bridgeport, Illinois, president of the American College in Istanbul. He has an A.B. from Carleton and Newman College in Tennessee which awarded him an honorary LL.D. in 1932. He also studied in Paris, at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, the University of Chicago. He has an S.T.B. from Andover Theological Seminary and an S.T.M. from Harvard.

From 1911 to 1914, Dr. Black was instructor of English and Latin at Robert College in Constantinople. From 1919 until 1926, he was a professor of Latin. Then he became president of the American College at Sofia, Bulgaria. Since June, 1944, he has been president of Istanbul American College which includes Robert College and the American College for Girls.

pride in their accomplishment of the past twenty-five years and equal enthusiasm and agreement in advancing side by side the industry and agriculture in the immediate future.

There is drama in the transformation of this hilltop town of Ankara of 1923 into the modern capital city of nearly 250,000 people which it is today. Coöperation in investing American funds for sound development is most impressive. I believe all of us on this tour in search of facts and representing leadership in all phases of American life are getting a new view of the universal desire of men and women to improve their lot politically and economically, to the end that people everywhere as individuals shall enjoy freedom and the fruits of their labors. It is inspiring and gives one greater confidence in all mankind and a greater desire to see all of us reach our goals.

Now for the question period, we return you to Mr. Denny.

# QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

*Mr. Denny:* Now for the first time our Town Meeting listeners will have the opportunity of hearing questions from the Turkish people, themselves. Our Town Hall group has exchanged views with many of our Turkish friends here in the past few days and have found our discussions extremely profitable. As usual, many of our questions will come in Turkish, others will come in English. They will be translated immediately. We start with the gentleman here on the left.

*Man:* Mr. Dorr. In view of the fact that Turkey occupies a most strategic point, the United States does not provide us with all the military equipment that we need. I would like to ask the American speakers here if they can say a few words on this point.

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Dorr.

*Mr. Dorr:* I'm afraid the question of military equipment is a little outside my bailiwick. Certainly the United States has furnished very substantial quantities of military equipment to Turkey, as we all know, and Congress is being asked to appropriate still more funds. I think that Turkey has done very well when you compare the amount she has received with that of other western nations. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Dorr. Now the next question from the gentleman in the aisle.

*Man:* I ask Dr. Black to what extent is Turkey supposed to be a western nation—geographical, cultural, economical, or political?

*Mr. Denny:* Dr. Black.

*Dr. Black:* The speaker's question is very interesting. Naturally, Turkey is a western nation in its political forms, in its historical connections, and in its cultural ideals. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Next question.

*Man:* For Mr. Yalman, please. What do you in Turkey think of an international police force as guarantee against aggression, instead of spending nearly half your total annual budget for national defense?

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Mr. Yalman?

*Mr. Yalman:* I can only answer in a personal way to this question. I believe in an international police force. I think it would be a much more efficient system of defense against totalitarian aggression than individual national defenses. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. The lady with the red hat.

*Lady:* I have a question for Mr. Kuyucak. I understand him to say that he did not feel that Marshall Plan assistance would

guarantee in a short time to put Turkey on a level of economic development which would permit her to continue to prosper in the future. Do I understand you to mean that you do not feel that the Marshall Plan can be effective or useful in Turkey?

*Mr. Kuyucak:* In answer to this lady, I wish to say that I did not mean that the Marshall Plan did not mean anything for Turkey. I simply meant that the Marshall Plan, as expressed by Mr. Marshall himself, was to initiate these countries to stand on their feet. It is a kind of vitamin injection into the economy of different countries. In spite of that fact, we are getting much benefit from the Marshall Plan, and we are hoping that with the advice that I gave on the part of private enterprise, coupled with the Marshall Plan, we will attain a higher degree of prosperity. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Kuyucak. Now, the gentleman over here, please.

*Man:* In the name of the Yale group, I would like to ask Mr. Yalman what concrete steps are being taken to implement an effective opposition party to replace the ancient eastern reliance upon strong men of genius, such as Ataturk.

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Yalman?

*Mr. Yalman:* While great men have been of great service to Turkey in cases of emergency and crisis, Turkish of all parties agree today that we shouldn't rely on man but on organized democratic machinery for our order of life, because mortal man cannot be relied upon and we should expect a crisis after the death of each one. So we fully agree in Turkey that our future orientation should be not to rely on mortal man but to set our energies to create an organized and stable government machine. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Yalman, I think the gentleman wants to know a little more about this opposition party. Would you care to say a little more about that please?

*Mr. Yalman:* Well, the opposition party has branches in almost all villages in Turkey. You may find in almost forty thousand Turkish villages branches of the opposition party. It brings the peasant for the first time in connection with the Turkish public life, and we have found that in spite of the large percentage of illiteracy in the villages peasants are proving to be a very sound implement in the political life of the country.

*Mr. Denny:* And how many deputies do they have in Parliament at the present time and what is the name of the party?

*Mr. Yalman:* There are two opposition parties in Turkey now represented in the Parliament. One of them is the Democratic



party and the other the Nation party, and together with the dependents they have about 70 deputies in the Assembly.

*Mr. Denny:* Out of a total of how many?

*Mr. Yalman:* About 450. But in the last Assembly we had not a single opposition man, so it means some progress.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, sir. Now, our next questioner here.

*Man:* Question for Mr. Hazim Kuyucak. Do you think, doctor, that the Turkish Government is ready to return some of its nationalized industries to the area of private competitive enterprise in order to encourage private capital to invest in Turkey?

*Mr. Kuyucak:* I am not in a position to reply to this question because I don't know exactly what the government is thinking. But from the measures taken, I understand that for the present the government is keeping most of the industries. What I desire, as a private individual, is for the government to stop where it is and to let the private enterprise start from where the government has left. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Kuyucak. I wonder if Mr. Yalman would comment on that question. Mr. Yalman?

*Mr. Yalman:* Just a few weeks ago, the Turkish Government decided to turn over a textile factory near Izmir to private initiative. This is an indication to show in what direction the Parliament is moving. This is only a beginning. At any rate it proves that state ownership is not an ideology in Turkey but is being seen as an economic problem, and the state is ready to change its attitude if the public interest necessitates that.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you very much, Dr. Yalman. Next question.

*Man:* Mr. Dorr. I thank you for the kind words you have had to say about the western aspect of Turkey. I wonder what your opinion is about the eastern aspect of Turkey?

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Dorr, that's quite a question.

*Mr. Dorr:* I think it is, Mr. Moderator. Frankly, the eastern aspect of Turkey is one about which I am still learning. I have only been here since last fall, and my activities have been concerned mainly with the western side of it. The eastern side, so far as I have seen, has been on picturesque landscapes and customs and also on certain techniques in agriculture for example, which we're hoping to improve to increase the productivity of the country.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Dorr. Dr. Black has a comment on that question.

*Dr. Black:* Mr. Dorr will not mind if I make one remark to say that for two hundred years Turkey has taken care of that eastern question. We're confident that she can continue to do so. (Applause)

*Mr. Denny:* All right. The gentleman on the aisle here.

*Man:* What legal and economic conditions are necessary to entice American capital investments to Turkey? Does Turkey today possess these conditions?

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Kuyucak.

*Mr. Kuyucak:* In answer to that question, I say that economic conditions in the country are sufficient for any private capital to come and work. But in order that even the local private capital may take part in economic enterprise, we need some changes in the legal status of enterprise. As a Turk, I do not accept any conditions for any foreign capital to change the legal or administrative situation in the country. I say that when we change some of the legal and administrative conditions necessary for the entrance of Turkish private capital into industry it will be the same for all private capital in the world. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Just a minute, Mr. Kuyucak. You said a moment ago that you weren't sure about the policy of the government when a question was asked here that Mr. Yalman answered. What do you think the attitude of the political parties—the dominant political parties in this country—is to this particular program that you have suggested?

*Mr. Kuyucak:* In answer to Mr. Denny's question, I should like to say that I have carefully studied the programs of the two parties and these programs can be applied in one way or the other, as in the case with the parties in the United States. So it's not a question of what the parties say. The real question is what the parties do. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, very much.

*Man:* On the basis of experience which has been acquired up to date, will the economic coöperation between the United States and Turkey enable Turkey to attain a level of economic prosperity equal to that of the western powers?

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Dorr?

*Mr. Dorr:* That's a very interesting question. I don't think that any man in the world could answer it accurately. But, as far as we can see, the Marshall Plan and the economic coöperation which is now being undertaken should permit Turkey to make an enormous advance and give her enough slack, enough reserve, enough excess purchasing power in other countries so that she should be able to build up, over a period of years, a standard of living which will be comparable with that of other countries. It can't be done overnight, obviously, but what we're doing now is making a very important start. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Dorr. Question from the gentleman over there in the middle of the hall.

*Man:* Mr. Yalman, what would be Turkey's role between the East and West if or when the Russian conflict is peacefully settled?

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Yalman. That's what Mr. Roosevelt used to call an "iffy" question, but this one is devoutly to be wished.

*Mr. Yalman:* Well, Turkey has never shown any hostility to Russia. If the conflict with Russia is settled, nobody would be happier than the Turks, because our attitude toward Russia is a good neighbor attitude which we are showing to other countries. On the other hand we are extending would be taken by Russia we would be very happy about it. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, very much. I think half the people in the hall here have their hands up with a signal that they have a question for Mr. Dorr, but I can only take a few of them and scatter them through the others. Here's one for you, Mr. Dorr.

*Man:* Turkey is the neighbor of a certain power which wishes to transform the Black Sea into a private sea. I wonder if Mr. Dorr would care to explain why Turkey was not included in the Atlantic Pact. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Dorr?

*Mr. Dorr:* I've been waiting for that one all evening.

*Mr. Denny:* Now you've got it right on the chin.

*Mr. Dorr:* I think that two American Senators have made it very clear that there is a case to be made for the inclusion of Turkey in the Atlantic Pact. There are also other considerations which have to be taken into account which have so far led to her not being included. But I think that the matter is given somewhat an exaggerated importance here in Turkey.

After all, two years ago, President Truman declared that the security of Greece and Turkey was the security of the United States, and we took action accordingly. During those entire two years, we have been supplying Turkey with arms the cost of which, as I understand it, is something like a billion dollars. And, as I said earlier this evening, the American Congress is being asked for appropriate additional funds. I don't think that we could have made it clearer in any way—Atlantic Pact or no Atlantic Pact—that we consider the defense of Turkey important to the defense of the United States. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Dorr. I think Mr. Yalman could add something to that. Mr. Yalman?

*Mr. Yalman:* The Atlantic Pact is a regional security pact. If Turkey had been asked to take part in this regional pact, concerning mainly the Atlantic, without being given additional guarantees,



I think Turkey would hesitate to accept such a call to take part in the Atlantic Pact. But we take great pleasure that the American Congress has accepted the regional pact and that America has further stepped from isolation and taken greater responsibilities in Europe. This is only one of the steps taken. We are sure that other steps will follow that and that the collective security system will be completed.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Yalman. The gentleman over here please.

*Man:* I've got two questions for Mr. Dorr. One has been thrown down from the balcony and I have to read it in Turkish because I want the translator to take the responsibility to read it.

*Interpreter:* Turkey is a country in great need of progress and desirous of attaining a western level. In spite of the statist policy applied in Turkey today, would American capital make investments in Turkey?

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Dorr, can you answer that one?

*Mr. Dorr:* I am not an American capitalist, unfortunately. I think that under present world conditions it is certainly difficult to see American capital freely moving into this part of the world or into Europe, I am sorry to say. But if those conditions can be overcome by building up the strength of Turkey and of western Europe, I think then that American capital can come. I think it would help, in Turkey, if there were a clear definition of the fields in which private capital would be allowed to operate.

*Mr. Denny:* Mr. Dorr, then you would agree with Eric Johnston that capital is a very shy maiden and needs to be wooed. Is that it?

*Mr. Dorr:* I would, indeed, from sad experience. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you. Next question.

*Man:* (*Question in Turkish.*)

*Mr. Kuyucak:* This gentleman wants me to reply whether I think that we should start with agriculture or industry in the country and, if I am in favor of the introduction of foreign capital, whether the capital should be introduced into agriculture or industry. Now, first of all, I must tell you that I am neither in favor of agriculture nor industry. I am in favor of economic improvement, and economic improvement means investment of the dollar in a place where it brings the greatest return. Therefore the capital should be invested in Turkey in the places where it brings the greatest return, whether agriculture or industry. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Kuyucak. Mr. Dorr has a comment on that.

*Mr. Dorr:* I'd just like to add that, in my opinion, Turkey has

to build up her agriculture first in order to get a continued flow of capital to build up her industry. She can build up her agriculture quicker and get capital by exchanging surplus agricultural products with other countries and thereby earn the power to bring in capital equipment which she needs.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Dorr. Mr. Kuyucak?

*Mr. Kuyucak:* I agree with Mr. Dorr that we should start with agriculture perhaps, but when we say what is industry and what is agriculture, we must be very explicit, because there are certain aspects of our agriculture which if looked at purely from the economic point of view may be considered industry. Therefore, I used the expression "using the capital in the most productive field." (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Kuyucak. Spoken worthy of a New York lawyer. Now we're going to take a series of questions here - Mr. Dorr to relieve the anxiety of all those that have been holding up hands to signal for him.

*Man:* Mr. Dorr, do the Americans still believe that we are wearing those baggy trousers? (*Laughter*)

*Mr. Denny:* Well, Mr. Dorr, I tried to disabuse the audience of that to start with.

*Mr. Dorr:* Well, I think that Mr. Denny could probably answer that one better than I could. I have never met an American who thought so. I have met some Europeans who did.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you.

*Lady:* Mr. Dorr, in World War II, Turkey played a great part as the safeguard of the peace, as far as possible, anyway, and the United States sacrificed a great deal of its capital, thousands of sons, and gave armaments to various weak countries to win the war and make the peace. We wonder whether now in the United States any steps are being taken to achieve a real peace and to maintain it?

*Mr. Dorr:* We certainly hope that the policies we're pursuing now in the United States will lead to a lasting peace. We have acted with the utmost of our strength to arrive at peace, merely by understanding, by assembling around a table, and talking. We have found that that is not sufficient. We must act as well as talk. We must be strong, we must show that we are determined. If we do that, we think we shall have peace, and that's the line we're following. We think that it is the line which will benefit the entire world. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Dorr. And now, while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's question, here's a special message of interest to you.

*Mr. Albert:* This is Alfred A. Albert again. The freedom of the individual Turk must be judged not by a comparison with our but by comparisons with what was twenty-five years ago. Many miraculous advances have been made. When I started on this tour, I was determined to find out whether the peoples with whom I would visit, regardless of ostensible differences, were fundamentally the same. They are. They all seek peace and security.

It is my sincere conviction that we can best obtain that peace and security by a universal application of the principles set forth in our own Bill of Rights and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

What we need most of all is the totally free and unhindered mass exchange of ideas between peoples. Our Turkish friends have asked us what we at home are doing to advance the cause of international recognition of basic human rights. Everything we do is watched. Let us at home demonstrate clearly that we stand four-square behind such a declaration and this will be our best weapon against totalitarianism.

Now for the summaries of tonight's discussion, we return you to Mr. Denny.

*Mr. Denny:* Our first summary comes from Mr. Kuyucak.

*Mr. Kuyucak:* Turkey has been a factor of stability in the past and may continue to be so in the future. In order to do that, our country must be strong economically and politically. The United States has understood that the security of the states depends upon the security of the world countries, and therefore is helping other countries. But no country can live only by the official help of other countries. Therefore, our country must encourage private capital, both national and international, for the exploitation of the resources of this country. It is through the exploitation of this kind that we can play our role best between the East and the West.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Kuyucak. Now, Mr. Yalman.

*Mr. Yalman:* Turkey has maintained for centuries a vast empire in the region which partly forms today the Iron Curtain bowl. We understand the mentality of the people living here. We can not only play the role of a link between the East and the West, we can also act as interpreter of events in the East for the benefit of the West.

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Yalman. May we have a final word from Russell Dorr?

*Mr. Dorr:* Turkey was already facing the West before the cold war began. Partnership between Turkey and the geographic West is natural, not only because of common devotion to the ideal of freedom, but because their economies are already mutual



porting and can, by coöperation, be made more so. Such co-  
operation implies a freer flow of trade, of capital, and of technical  
know-how," such as might be gained through a European eco-  
nomic union. Such a partnership threatens no one. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Mr. Dorr. Now, Dr. Black.

*Dr. Black:* I believe that all my fellow citizens in the United  
States will agree with me in saying that the building of the  
Turkish Republic is one of the most significant political and social  
movements of our times. I would say personally to my fellow  
citizens that the Turkish people are a generous, kind, and courteous  
people. Happily, the Turkish and American peoples are united  
today by the friendliest relations. May this happy situation long  
continue. (*Applause*)

*Mr. Denny:* Thank you, Dr. Floyd H. Black, Russell H. Dorr,  
Mustafa Atif Kuyucak, and Ahmet Emin Yalman. And our thanks to  
our able interpreters.

Our warm appreciation is also due to Mrs. Tezer Taskiran and  
Professor Orhan Alisbah, co-chairman of our Host Committee,  
and to Mr. Donald Webster, and his able staff at the American  
Embassy for their untiring and effective help on this program  
in our Seminars.

Special arrangements have been made with our publishers to  
sell all twelve of our Round the World Town Meetings into one  
volume for \$1.00. Individual copies of tonight's discussion and all  
other Town Meetings may be obtained, as usual, by sending  
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Next week we will present our program from Tel Aviv, capital  
of the new State of Israel, where we will consider the all-important  
question of absorption of immigration in this new homeland of  
the Jewish people. The following week we will go to Cairo, Egypt,  
to consider the question, "Does the Arab World Need a Marshall  
Plan?"

We can now to be with us next week and every week at the sound  
of the Crier's bell.

